

# VIETNAM COURIER

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25th ANNIVERSARY  
of the  
AUGUST REVOLUTION (Aug. 19, 1945)  
and the  
FOUNDING OF THE DRVN (Sept. 2, 1945)

## 25 Years Ago

### APPEAL for General Insurrection

(August 1945)

Dear compatriots,

**F**OUR years ago in one of my letters I called on you to unite because unity is strength and only strength enables us to win back independence and freedom.

At present, the Japanese army has collapsed and the National Salvation movement has spread to the whole country. The Front for the Independence of Viet Nam (Viet Minh) is now forming a national front of several strata: collectives, peasants, workers, businessmen, soldiers, and from all nationalities in the country: Kinh, Tho, Nung, Muong, Man, etc. In the Front, our compatriots are marching side by side whether they are men or women, old or young, Buddhist or Catholic, rich or poor.

Recently, the Viet Minh Front convened the Viet Nam People's Congress and appointed the National Liberation Committee to lead the entire people in the grim fight for national independence.

Such a development is a great advance in the history of our people's century-old struggle for liberation.

It heartens our compatriots and fills me with great joy.

However, it is not enough. Our battle is bound to be a long and hard one. Although the Japanese have been defeated, we shall not be liberated overnight. We still have to make further efforts and carry on the struggle. Our unity and militancy can our country regain independence.

The Viet Minh Front is at present the basis for our national union and struggle. Join the Viet Minh Front, give it your support, make it greater and stronger!

At present, the National Liberation Committee is a kind of provisional government. Unite around it and see to it that its policies and orders are carried out throughout the country!

In this way, our Fatherland will certainly regain independence and our people will certainly win freedom soon.

Dear compatriots,

The decisive hour in the destiny of our people has struck. Let us all rise up to free ourselves with our own strength.

Many oppressed peoples the world over are dying with each other in their attempts to recover independence. We cannot afford to lag behind.

Forward! Forward! Under the banner of the Viet Minh Front, compatriots, march forward valiantly!

NGUYEN AI QUOC

Editor's Note: Nguyen Ai Quoc was an assumed name of President Ho Chi Minh.

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### RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

(August 14 and 15, 1945)

(Excerpts)

#### ON THE INDOCHINA SITUATION

1) Since March 9, 1945\*, Japanese brutality and inhumanity has become more and more apparent.

2) The IndoChinese peoples, reduced to misery and indignation, have turned to the revolution and even a number of mandarins have sided with it.

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AUGUST 1945: Rally in front of the Hanoi Municipal Theatre attended by units of the Liberation Army newly arrived from the Viet Bac.

### SAIGON UNABLE TO CURB POPULAR OPPOSITION

**O**PPOSITION to the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime remained stiff this month and spread to numerous cities in South Viet Nam.

First of all, a strike of 10,000 Lambretta drivers of the public transport service in Saigon erupted on Aug. 5. At a meeting of representatives of the strikers, a petition was passed, demanding the lift of the ban on import of spare-parts which meant death to their trade. The action brought this popular means of transport in Saigon to a complete standstill.

**T**HE student drive against the puppet regime had gained new momentum and always remained in the centre of anti-US demonstrations.

On Aug. 9, Huynh Tan Mam was returned as President of the Saigon General Association of Students (GAS); Pham Quang Hao, elected to the GAS Committee on the same occasion, had been, like Huynh Tan Mam, victimized by the puppet administration which had jailed them for months

on charges of "subversive manoeuvres" and "dealings with communists." Their election by an overwhelming majority vote to the leading body of the GAS showed the scope and bitterness of student enmity for the Thieu clique. The latter was known to have bailed their leaders only under increased student pressure.

Now, the students' objective has been summed up in the protest letter they sent to Thieu on Aug. 11 and that addressed on Aug. 10 to the "Defence Ministry" and the Head of the "Department of Military Training on Campuses"; immediate release of students still under detention, immediate end to acts of savage repression against students, and abolition of campus military training.

Earlier, the students had held meetings to make known their desiderata: On Aug. 9, "a bonfire of militancy" gathering 500 participants, and next day, at the locale of the GAS, a press conference, were given to this effect.

At these rallies, students forced to undergo military training at the Quang Trung camp in Thu Duc, and others, arrested on Aug. 5 when they visited striking Lambretta drivers, denounced the ill-treatment and brutalities inflicted on them by the puppet administration.

It was also reported that at the Quang Trung camp, reactionary military officers and instructors took reprisals for student protests by victimizing those students who came there for military training, without which they would be barred from exams and risk being drafted into the puppet army before they finished school. The students complained about the overstrain that hit them, being forced to terminate, in 4 weeks, a training programme designed for 9 weeks; deplorable material living conditions brought the sick rate to 90% among the trainees, etc.

On Aug. 12, at the premises of the GAS, 9 students held a 24-hour hunger-strike in protest against such ill-treatment.

One of the student representatives, arrested on Aug. 5

(Continued page 8)

25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE AUGUST REVOLUTION AND THE FOUNDING OF THE DRVN

## A Cause Whose Triumph Is a Certainty

THE struggle of the Afro-Americans in the United States which began in 1961 has been kept up from generation to generation against the American exploiters and rulers. Against ever more racism, exploitation and repression, they have risen up and met violence with violence. This has been the tenor of their movement since August 11, 1945 when thousands of Black residents (Los Angeles) flew to arms against the brutalities of police and racists.

The 'hot summers' of 1965, 1967 and 1968 shook the States and were the terror of the American rulers.

Since its inauguration, the Nixon-Agnew tandem has frenziedly stepped up the repression of Black people. But the stubborn resistance of the latter in 1969 and those 'new hot summers' were forthcoming.

The Afro-Americans in the US have realized that only by force of arms can freedom and liberation be achieved. They have understood that they must not only battle for democratic liberties and the right to work, but also for the emancipation of tens of thousands of Black people in the US. The most lucid leaders in the Black people's movement are also aware that the road to victory must go through their own unity and their solidarity with progressive White Americans and with the world revolutionary movement against the common enemy US aggression.

The struggle of the Afro-American in the US has great revolutionary significance for the liberation of peoples and social progress. It occupies a very important strategic position because it is unfolding right in the US, ring leader of imperialism and world policeman.

80th Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam (August 20, 1970)

## THE US SHOULD SERIOUSLY CONSIDER THE NFL AND PRG TEN POINTS

WHILE the American and puppet delegates harped on old themes, the envoys of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam produced new proofs of Nixon's continued intensification and expansion of the Indochina war: all Hanoi and Paris delegations were called into attacks against South Viet Nam: Huong Lop village, north of the DMZ, had been razed to the ground by US aircraft, including B-52's; additional Saigon and Thai troops had been sent to Laos, etc.

Mr Nguyen Minh Vy (DRVN) concluded that for the Conference to progress the Nixon administration must give serious consideration to the overall ten-point solution of the NFL and the PRG of RSVN.

ON August 12, 1970, the Treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the German Federal Republic was signed.

Under the treaty, the two parties affirm their endeavour to further the normalization of the situation in Europe undertaken to refrain from the threat or use of force in any matters affecting security in Europe or international security, as well as in their mutual relations, undertake to respect without restriction the territorial integrity of all states in Europe within their present frontiers; declare that they have no territorial claims against anybody, regard the present frontiers of all states in Europe as

the continuous growth of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the all-round development of the GDR and its rising international position, of the solidarity of the socialist countries members of the Warsaw Treaty, and also as a result of the failure of the Keisinger Government's new "Ost-Politik," the Willy Brandt administration has had to sign the USSR-West Germany Treaty.

This is a blow dealt at the ambitions of the bellicose and revanchist forces in West Germany which have been fostering the neo-fascist organization headed by Von Thadden and plotting to change the map

Fully aware of the West German imperialists' schemes

## Hanoi Press Opinion

## On USSR - West Germany Treaty

inviolable, including the Oder-Neisse line which forms the Western frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic.

It is common knowledge that so far the West-German governments have always pursued a revanchist and expansionist policy in an attempt to do away with the German Democratic Republic and to carry out infiltration, sabotage and subversion against the East-European socialist countries and break the influence of socialism. For this purpose, they have engaged in an active military build-up, refused to recognize the frontiers which have taken shape in Europe since the end of World War II including the Oder-Neisse line and the frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic. They have obstinately ignored the fundamental, reasonable and logical demands of the GDR and have gone so far as to put forward the insolent claim to represent the whole of Germany, i.e. to annex the German Democratic Republic.

However, one cannot overlook the fact that the Bonn administration has recently sent letters to the Western countries, emphasizing the "rights of the Allies in Berlin and in the whole of Germany." Right before the signing of the treaty the West German administration reaffirmed its "right to work for the reunification of Germany," which means in essence the eventual annexation of GDR into West Germany. On August 13, 1970, Barzen, leader of the West German Christian Democratic Party, urged that the situation in West Berlin should be stabilized, that "the East German people be given genuine freedom" and that the frontiers be opened to "men, information and ideas" before the treaty was ratified by the West German Parliament.

But under the impact of the deep changes favourable to the revolution in the world balance of forces, of the repeated attacks launched from all sides by the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism against US-led imperialism now being weakened in all respects, and of

of Europe. It is a victory of the West German people who are struggling for peace and security in Europe and in defence of their vital interests against the most bellicose and reactionary tendencies of West German imperialism. The Brandt administration has had to begin facing to a certain extent the facts in Europe, to recognize *de facto* the German Democratic Republic, and the inviolability of the present frontiers in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse line and the frontier between the two German states. These are positive points.

The world's peoples should keep their weather eyes open over the "New Eastern policy" and peaceful evolution strategy that West Germany, in collusion with the US imperialists, is striving to carry out.

It is time the Brandt government renounced West German expansionism and revanchism, recognized *de jure* the GDR, and respected the legal status of West Berlin as an independent political entity.

As a member of the socialist camp now engaged in a stubborn resistance against the US imperialists' cruel war of aggression, the Vietnamese people have always staunchly supported the effort of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries against the expansionist and annexationist tendencies of West German revanchism and for the defence of peace and security in Europe and in the whole world.

NHAN DAN (The People)

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## Some Figures

### PUBLICATIONS

In 1939, the record year under colonialism, 1,570,000 copies of books were printed for the whole of Viet Nam. In 1969, in North Viet Nam alone the total was 38 million, i.e. 25 times over, dealing with a great variety of subjects.

### LIBRARIES

BEFORE 1945, in the whole of Indochina (Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia) there were no libraries with a large readership. Today there exist in North Viet Nam 195 libraries run by cultural services. In 1969, the National Central Library was patronized by 165,000 readers (at a time when many public services and all schools and universities evacuated the city).

### CINEMA AND THEATRES

UNDER the colonial regime, the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese never went to the cinema or theatre. In 1960 alone the performances of Central Dance and Song Ensembles drew audiences of 2,120,710 and film shows recorded 86.5 million attendances. Most of the films were produced by Vietnamese studios.

### MUSEUMS

THERE was in the whole of Indochina only the Donkin Pinot Museum. In North Viet Nam, there are now, besides the Museums of History, Revolution, Arts and of Haiphong, many small others: the Nghe Tinh Soviet Museum, the Museum of Dien Bien Phu, Viet Bac, Mong Cai (in Quang Ninh province) and some 400 smaller museums, particularly in the districts and villages. In the past ten years the Revolutionary Museum was visited by 2 million people and 95 foreign delegations.

### TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

UNDER colonial domination, there was only a College of Fine Arts. The largest class had 10 students.

Now there are four colleges: Fine Arts, Industrial Art, Music and Library; 13 intermediate vocational schools, including technical and arts schools for the Viet Bac and Ton Loc autonomous zones. Elementary schools of Fine Arts have been operating or will be opened in provinces or towns.

Tens of thousands of middle and high level cultural workers have been formed in schools (3,300 cadres) or in refreshment courses (6,700); in addition, there are 500 cadres trained abroad and many batches of graduates from elementary art schools.

If activists of millions of clubs, scores of thousands of amateurs' artistic teams and ensembles, and thousands of amateurs who have gone through basic refresher courses are included, we now can boast an important contingent of cultural workers.

A National

## Socialist Culture Promoted

THE Vietnamese people are possessed of an age-old national culture. Original, patriotic and progressive, it has been maintained and developed in the course of a national democratic struggle against foreign invasion.

For nearly a century, French colonialism did its best to debase and enslave it. It also undertook a vast effort of colonization and dehumanization against our people. Ninety-five per cent of Vietnamese were illiterate. Millions of people never read a book, nor were they able to read or theatre in their life time. Gambling, drinking, opium addiction, prostitution... were rife.

That is why the Indochinese Communist Party (now the Viet Nam Workers' Party) regarded the combat against this cultural enslavement as part and parcel of the national liberation movement.

As early as 1943, in its *Theses on Cultural Policy*, the Party advocated the promotion of a new culture with "a national democratic content."

That line won over patriotic and progressive writers within the Cultural Association for National Salvation, they fought side by side with the people against the French invaders and Japanese invaders and galvanized them in the exciting days of the August 1945 Insurrection.

A National Cultural Congress was held in the first months of the new regime. On the agenda were such items as: mission of culture

in the new revolutionary stage, a culture serving the resistance war and national construction with as objective the wiping out of the remnants of capitalist decadence. Cultural activities helped such immense tasks as: increased production, anti-literacy campaign, and resistance to the French colonials' comeback in South Viet Nam.

On December 19, 1946, when the war of resistance spread all over the country, the cultural workers responding to President Ho Chi Minh's appeal went into the thick of the fight. In 1947, the First National Congress of Cultural and the First National Congress of Literature and Arts were convened under the "To unite, resist, resist, culture, impel the resistance with culture" watchword. In his report *Marxism and Vietnamese Culture*, Truong Chinh said: "Workers and peasants are the main combatants of the national democratic revolution."

In short, the people at the service of the resistance was blooming everywhere and made a great contribution to the Dien Bien Phu victory.

With the re-establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945, a new revolutionary era was born. The institution of the Ministry of Culture in September 1955 marked a new step in the organization of the cultural work. Since then, this has been progressing with three tasks to inculcate socialism in the masses, popularize Marxism-Leninism, erase the vestiges of bourgeois petty-bourgeois and feudalistic systems and raise the cultural standard of the masses, vulgarize science and technology to help boost production, fight outmoded mannerisms and customs to meet the national, literary and artistic requirements of the masses.

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The Yen Lien Thuong agricultural co-op, Ninh Binh province, has been awarded a Labour Order, 3rd class, for its achievements in mass culture.  
Photo: At the co-op's reading-room.

# THOSE UNFORGETTABLE DAYS

Reminiscences of General Vo Nguyen Giap

**A**t the Potsdam Conference in late July that year (1), the Allies had decided to divide Indochina into two zones for the disarming of Japanese troops following Japan's capitulation. Japanese troops were to be disarmed south of the 16th parallel by British troops and north of that latitude by Chinese and Chiang Kai-shek troops. Naturally, on this important job our people had not been consulted. Under US pressure, the French too had been left out.

Yet before the Chinese officers a number of French officers had appeared at the site of members of an American mission who had landed shortly before at Hanoi airport.

The French officers were taken by the Japanese to the Metropole Hotel where a number of French residents were staying. The sight of French uniforms and insignia around the environs of Hanoi who came in increasing number to demonstrate before the hotel. Defying Japanese bayonets, they cut up the barbed wire before the building. In face of public indignation, the Japanese military police hurriedly escorted the French officers to the former governor general's Palace which at that time was still used as the General Headquarters of the French occupation army.

Several months before, at the revolution base, we had heard about De Gaulle's declaration on a new political regime for Indochina. According to him, Indochina was to become a Federation comprising five different "states" (apart from Laos and Cambodia, Viet Nam was to be divided into three states: Tonkin, Annam and Cochin China). These states would enjoy "internal autonomy." A federal government would be formed, headed by a governor-general representing France. This in essence means that French policy toward Indochina was not to be altered.

Learning of the Mikado's imminent arrival, the French took immediate action. Several groups comprising officers, administrators, intelligence agents in China, Ceylon, Madras were ordered to enter Indochina by every possible means. They were parachuted at several points in the North, the Centre and the South. Some came by sea. Aware of the deep changes our country had undergone through, many French agents got into contact with former mandarins and village officials to whom they showed their credentials. Most of them fell into our hands, some were caught by the Japanese.

A few days after our return to Hanoi word came that immediately after the Japanese surrender, the tens

French expeditionary corps in the Far East, organized long before the war ended, had triumphantly marched to Indochina. Leclerc, a famous general of the French Liberation war, had been appointed its commander-in-chief, and Admiral d'Argenlieu a former priest and an intimate of that saintly line, the representative of the French Commissioner for Indochina. French warships still afloat after World War II were sailing in a hurry for Indochina. From the other end of the earth, guns were being aimed at our revolution.

The appearance of a delegation of a dozen of French officers in Hanoi caused great concern to Uncle Ho and to our comrades. How could the French get here? What was the attitude of the Allies, especially that of the Americans and of Chiang Kai-shek, toward the French on the Indochina question? That we must know.

In our capacity as a delegation of the people's regime, I and other comrades met the US mission. During that interview we were informed that the armament of Japanese troops north of the 16th parallel was still to be performed by Chiang Kai-shek troops. We also found that the French seemed to dislike one another. While the French were frantically trying to stage a comeback to Indochina, an American officer named Paulus for a still unknown motivation showed his sympathy for the Viet Minh's struggle against the Japanese.

In face of our nation-wide revolutionary offensives, the defeated Japanese felt greatly embarrassed. Our attacks in Viet Bac had given them food for thought. If they set their faces against the revolution, what would be their fate after they had been disarmed by Allied troops? The Japanese had realized that it would do them no good to raise difficulties for the Vietnamese patriots.

In Hue, on August 23, 15,000 people from the city and the suburbs took to the streets. The Insurrection Committee handed in a petition demanding Bao Dai's abdication. Insurrectional armed forces occupied administration offices and arrested officials. Under the impact of the revolutionary upsurge, Bao Dai declared his readiness to give up his throne.

On August 28, the uprising had spread to most provinces in Nam Bo (South Viet Nam). Eight hundred thousand inhabitants of Saigon - Cholon staged a demonstration. The French suddenly had to be forced to leave a few days after his arrival. Faced with the people's might, the tens

of thousands of Japanese troops in the area had to close their eyes to the demonstrations.

Comrades Tran Huy Lieu and Nguyen Luong Bang were sent to Hanoi to meet Uncle Ho. The Gate of the Royal Citadel was wide open to receive the Delegation of the Revolution. Bao Dai read his abdication act, handed over his sword and keys to the people of a free country. An enthusiastic crowd of tens of thousands witnessed the last moments of the puppet regime.

Thus, under the leadership of five thousand members of the Indochinese Communist Party, the Viet Minh supporters, the poor people had won glorious victory in the General Uprising from the North to the South of the country. The August Revolution had triumphed. In only ten days, the revolutionaries had gained power established over the entire country. The eighty-year-old colonial rule, together with the feudal regime of several thousand years, had been smashed. Yellowish flags, a product of



Saigon on the day of seizure of power during the August, 1945 Revolution.

the short-lived Japanese domination, were taken away like worm-eaten leaves, rapidly sinking into oblivion.

THE owners of the house in Phu Lang Ngan Street in Hanoi had put the first floor at their disposal. The whole second floor had been reserved for Uncle Ho to give him a quiet working place. But he did not like to have a quiet place, so he joined us downstairs. In those days, comrades To (2) and Hoan (3), on Uncle Ho's instructions, were still remaining at Tan Trao. For the servants and neighbours there were the old and young country relatives on a visit to the capital. Comrade Ninh (4)

who then sported a thick, uncared-for beard, was mistaken for an old man."

The floor we occupied had been used as dining-room and study room, so there was no writing-desk. Uncle Ho sat before a large table to write. In a corner was his typewriter, placed on a small square table covered with green baize.

After working hours, we took a rest in the place. One of us would lie on the floor, another would use a number of assembled chairs for a bed. Uncle Ho slept on a deck-chair which until then had been folded up and put aside in a corner.

On the very day when Uncle Ho arrived in Hanoi, first batches of Chiang Kai-shek troops had appeared in the capital. They were intelligence agents and members of advanced guard. Standing on our balcony, we could see the Chinese troops who kept coming in scattered groups.

Military marches were played by an army band when the troops were crossing the Long Bien bridge. The fighters marched in file, holding their rifles at the ready.

The presence in Hanoi of trained and tested revolutionary armed forces stirred up great popular enthusiasm. A review of the revolution troops at Hanoi self-defence theatre at the Municipal Theatre Square inspired great joy and confidence in the population.

On August 28, the list of members of the Provisional Government was published by Hanoi newspapers. The composition of the government was indicative of the

## HISTORIC VICTORY OF ASIAN AND WORLD'S PEOPLES

TWENTY-five years ago, three months after the liquidation of German fascism in Europe, Japanese militarism, its partner in Asia, surrendered unconditionally.

Like Germany and Italy, Japan was an imperialist country which appeared on the international arena when the division of the world market had been completed. From its outset her capitalistic development went through a process of bloody invasions and pillages of the peoples of Asia, particularly of China and Korea. Especially since the triumph of the October Revolution leading to the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the awakening of the Eastern peoples, the US and British imperialists, in an attempt to nip in the bud this nascent socialist country and the national liberation movement in Asia, lent the Japanese militarists a helping hand in the perpetration of their crimes. The latter were clever enough to rely on the US and British imperialists and to take advantage of the sharp conflicts of interests among the imperialists to expand their influence. However when their ambition to rule the roost in Asia clashed with American and British interests, the Japanese militarists set up with the German and Italian fascists a military axis and spearheaded it against the Soviet Union, the world's peoples and even the US and British imperialists in order to re-divide the world market by force of arms. World War II thus broke out.

By a long-prepared attack in December 1941, the Japanese army ousted the British and Americans, drove south, forced the French to open the gates of Indochina, occupied Malaysia, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia, and threatened India, New Zealand and Australia. The invaders killed tens of millions of people, destroyed or plundered civilian property worth hundreds of billions of dollars. But their heinous crimes were unable to subjugate the Asian peoples. The movement against Japanese fascism kept mounting. Led by their Communist Party, the Chinese people offered a long, hard but heroic resistance which bogged down the invaders in the immense quagmire of China. The armed struggle put up for 15 years against the Japanese invaders by the Korean people under Comrade Kim Il Sung was a glorious episode in the history of Korea. The Japanese fascists were beaten everywhere. The victory of the Soviet Army over the Kwang Tung army (a crack unit of the Japanese fascist forces) in the northeast of China, after the Hitlerite army had been routed, was a deadly blow delivered to the Japanese imperialists already exhausted by the stout resistance of Asian peoples. The American and British imperialists have done their best to distort history, saying that the unconditional surrender of Japan was brought about chief-

ly by the two atomic bombs dropped on that country. The truth was that while in Europe they waited until the German fascists were on their legs to open the second front, in the Pacific area, after being drubbed by the Japanese, they only waged a limited war against the latter. Of 100 Japanese divisions, 60 operated in China and Korea and one million elite soldiers were pinned down in the northeast of China to face an eventual attack by the Red Army. The balance was not held by the atomic bombs which killed hundreds of thousands of civilians at the time when the Japanese fascists were in their death throes, but by the peoples of the Soviet Union, China, Korea, Mongolia, Malaysia, Burma, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Indochina.

prophecy that the reactionary rulers in Japan would in all probability invade Asia for expansion only with the help of another imperialist power.

US imperialism has been trying to revive Japanese militarism and its war potential, and using it as a shock force against the whole of the Asian continent. It has tied Japan tightly to its war chariot by a series of economic, political and military pacts and agreements. After the triumph of the Chinese Revolution, it has regarded Japan as the linchpin of its nuclear strategy in Asia and turned her into a main base from which to infiltrate the Far East.

The Japanese monopolies, reversely, have done their best to utilize the US in order to achieve their Greater

treachery" signed in 1951, changed into the Japan-US "joint security and co-operation treaty" on January 19, 1960 with an extension amendment signed on June 23, 1970. Under the label of "defence" and "equal co-operation relations," this treaty, after a decade of implementation, has made of Japan the biggest military base to efficiently serve the US bellicose and aggressive policy in Asia, especially the Viet Nam war. Meanwhile the potentiality of the Japanese monopolies and their position in the relation with the US have been reinforced.

Nixon assumed office at a time when the US global strategy had suffered heavy setbacks, especially the Indochina morass. One of the important points of his "new Asian policy" is a greater use of the potentiality of Japan to carry out US neo-colonialism in Asia, first and foremost to cope with the growing resistance of the Indochinese peoples. In his February 18, 1970 report on "US foreign policy in the seventies," Nixon made it clear that Japan was to play an important and unique role in the development of Asia and US-Japan co-operation was to be the keystone of the success of the Nixon doctrine on Asia. The design of the Japanese reactionary rulers is to capitalize on Nixon's "new policy" on Asia to push up their expansionist and aggressive scheme in this region. In his talks with Nixon on November 21, 1969, Sato said: "The US has a great responsibility for the security of Asia. But Japan will play the leading role in economic and technical aid."

THE present Japanese rulers have revealed their true colours as disciples of the blood-thirsty Japanese fascists in World War II. But the balance of forces in the world has changed considerably. World revolution has shifted onto the offensive. The US imperialists, the chieftain of all the most reactionary, aggressive and bellicose forces at present, are meeting with one setback after another. The struggle of Asian peoples, more particularly the valiant resistance war waged by the three peoples of Indochina against US aggression, though long and arduous, has inflicted bitter failure on the US imperialists.

Japan, an aggressive base of the US in Asia, is also an anti-US centre in Asia, in the throes of a widespread and persistent turmoil involving large sections of Japanese, under the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party and other progressive organizations who are demanding US withdrawal from Japan, protesting against the US aggressive war in Indochina, and battling for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality.

The Vietnamese people are firmly convinced that in face of the high vigilance and militant solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the peoples of the socialist countries and progressives in the world including those in the United States and Japan, the US imperialist aggressors and their confederates will certainly be defeated.

# The First Election in the Village

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Nguyen Dinh Thi, born in 1924, belongs to a generation of writers influenced by the French Revolution and the Resistance. During the resistance against the French colonists (1946-1954) he was a battalion political commissar and has published poems of a new lyricism and a novel, *Xung Kich* (Shock Troops), on the life of a popular combatant, which was awarded a literary prize.

One of his works on the present resistance against US aggression, *Mat Tran Tran Cao* (High-Up Front), has been adapted in French by Madeleine Riffaud.

Nguyen Dinh Thi is Secretary General of the Association of Vietnamese Writers.

Below is an excerpt from his novel *Vo Bo* (Dykes Break) which vividly describes life in North Viet Nam during the years preceding the 1945 August Revolution.

XOAN (1) headed straight to Cauh village, lights were seen glimmering in some houses, a few rifle shots were heard. There was a great general commotion. Passing by school-teacher Hoi's, Xoan heard the man talking and laughing with many people. She again broke into a run. On the way to her house, squatted down on the doorstep, not knowing where to go now. Tears again rolled down her cheeks. Oh how odd she was! No, no more crying. Xoan still hid her tears in her hands.

Daylight came without her knowing it. Good heavens! She must cook rice for the men now at the meeting! Hurriedly she washed the rice and lit the fire.

The school-teacher's house was all in order. What was going on there? Xoan left the cooking-pot on the fire and ran to the end of the garden for a look.

In the courtyard, school-teacher Hoi was laughing with some of his pupils while another one to the house for a visit or a meeting. Bao, with a rifle across his back, was also saying something. The school-teacher was now heard shouting excitedly.

"What a day! What a day! friends! Unfold the flag, and let's all go to the communal house!" A red flag with a golden star appeared amidst the great crowd set up for the meeting place. The fluttering flag gradually disappeared in the distance.

Xoan returned to her kitchen, poured rice into the cooking-pot. She too ought to go to the village house to see what was going on there. But what about the rice? She moved about nervously, not knowing what to do.

"Xoan! Xoan! Come!" "It's you, Hien? I'm coming!"

The girl, with her little sister Nga in her arms, rushed into the house. "Come to the communal house with me! All my people are here now! My father, my mother too! Come, come, come! So many people are already there!"

"But I've got the cooking to do!" "No, you must go! Do you hear there the same?"

All right, Anyhow, let's just leave the pot off the fire. As she got up, Hien grasped her hand and drag-

"Calm down your little brother. Than, don't let him yell like that!"

(Continued page 7)

## Literary Activities

A scientific symposium on "Uncle Ho and Literature and Arts" has just been held by the Literature Institute of the Viet Nam Social Sciences Committee. Present at the gathering were literary researchers, writers and journalists. Their speeches focused on these main themes:

- President Ho Chi Minh's literary career,
- President Ho Chi Minh's writings on literature and arts and the press,
- President Ho Chi Minh's influence on modern literature,
- Vietnamese literary workers' feelings for President Ho Chi Minh.

He bent over out of the kitchen. Xoan broke into laughter. "What are you doing, Hien? Give me little Nga, I'll carry her!" "Go! Go!"

Little Nga, also excited, uttered joyful cries.

When the girls reached the communal house courtyard, they found a great crowd assembled there. People were jostling and standing on tiptoe to get a look at the platform where a row of self-defense corps members were lined up, some armfuls with rifles, others with spades. The red flag with a golden star was held high by one of them. In the central compartment, one could now and then get a glimpse of the school-teacher. (2) Coi, land registrar Nuo, and five or six others sitting around a table.

A great tumult rose among the crowd around Xoan. "Look! Ton, that headman, is coming!" Xoan also had to stand on tiptoe to see better. Two young activists set out to escort corps members escorting Ton. They were pushing their way through the crowd toward the platform.

Suddenly, a perfect silence reigned in the courtyard. There they came! Coi whispered something to a self-defense corps member before extorting village officials assembled for feasting and opium smoking and disputing pickings, where people were summoned to form a commando group or to colonial army from which they might never return, where peasants came to deliver rice, pay the poll-tax or failing that, to be beaten, tortured...

The literary section of Yen Bai province has just reported on the first stage of a literary competition launched since May 1, 1969; 7 out of 16 short stories and 11 out of 327 poems have been given prizes. The competition will go on till the end of this year.

The Vietnamese Writers' Union is feverishly preparing the first school year in 1971 of the College of Writers for the most talented among young writers and poets.

## An Important Literature Work Under Way

THE Social Sciences Committee has just been charged by the Government with the elaboration of a treatise on the history of Vietnamese literature.

A body of researchers has been appointed, which includes professors and literature specialists, under the direction of Dang Thai Mai, President of the Literature Institute. The supervisory group will be headed by Deputy-Minister of Culture Ha Huay Giap.

Vietnamese literature has a time-honored history and counts great classical works such as *Kieu* by Nguyen Du. Nevertheless, up to the

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## News from CAMBODIA

### \* US War Escalation Condemned

THE spokesman of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia issued on Aug. 11 a statement strongly condemning the massive and widespread B-52 bombings on Cambodian territory as a fresh act of aggression of US imperialism. In face of this, all the simpler people will stiffen their resolve to fight until victory, whatever the efforts and sacrifices they may have to make, the statement stressed.

### \* National Union Royal Government Denies All Accords Signed by Lon Nol-Sirik Matak

[A statement dated August 11, 1970, the National Union Royal Government of Cambodia recalled that in its May 4, 1970 statement, it had announced its decision to honour all international agreements, treaties and protocols signed by Cambodia up to March 18, 1970. Consequently, it does not recognize and will not recognize any bilateral or international treaties, agreements or protocols under any form, concluded or renewed since March 18, 1970 onwards between the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique and the other governments or international organizations.

### \* Khieu Samphan Appointed Vice-Premier

[On August 10 a communiqué of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia announced that on resolution of the Central Committee of the Party and the Minister Foreign Affairs and by decree of Sambach Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State and President of the FUNK, M. Khieu Samphan was appointed Vice-Premier while retaining his function as Minister of National Defence.

★ ★ ★

## News from LAOS

### THE TWO LAO PRINCES'-REPRESENTATIVES TO MEET AT KHANG KHAY

PRINCE Souphanouvong has agreed to Prince Souvanna Phouma's proposal dated June 25, 1970 for holding a meeting at Khang Khay between representatives of the two princes. This was notified to Prince Souvanna Phouma by Tiao Souk Vongsak, Prince Souphanouvong's special envoy, who arrived in Vientiane on July 31, in an interview with Phouma on August 11. Tiao Souk Vongsak stressed that Prince Souphanouvong's acceptance was a further proof of the good will of the Lao people to come to a peaceful settlement of the Lao problem.

It is to be recalled that the necessity of a peaceful solution in Laos has been pointed out by the Lao Patriotic Front in Prince Souphanouvong's message brought... Prince Souvanna Phouma by envoy Pratithieng Tham in Vientiane five months ago (March 20). On July 10, Prince Souvanna Phouma accepted with a positive proposal for holding at Khang Khay between the two princes' representatives. This has prompted Prince Souphanouvong to send Tiao Souk Vongsak to Vientiane with a message and full powers to discuss with Prince Souvanna Phouma practical matters related to the preparations for the meeting.

HOWEVER, according to the latest news the Vientiane administration has decided to raise new obstacles to the agreement of principle on the forthcoming meeting at Khang Khay between representatives of the two princes. It has appointed a "government delegation" to talk with the "other side" on a "political platform."

In a commentary dated July 18, *KPL*, the Pathet Lao news agency, castigated this an utterly arrogant move on the part of the Vientiane administration. *KPL* pointed out that this administration was set up by a party and was not recognized by the Lao Patriotic Front since the tripartite coalition government was set up on April 10, 1966. Thus, the present exchange of views on the proposed meeting of representatives of the two princes does not make headway, the blame must be laid at the door of the Vientiane administration and Prince Souvanna Phouma, *KPL* concluded.

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## The First Election...

(Continued from page 6)

The communal courtyard was doing his bit, some were laughing, others cheering, it was a din as at the marketplace. Then Xoan saw old Teo rise to his feet, wave his hands, and shout out: "The headman, so let us spare his life! But he was very fond of beating people, I propose that we take off his pants and give him thirty strokes with a stick, just as a lesson!"

"An uproar broke out. "Now, fellow-citizens, we shall elect the village liberation committee..."

Xoan was still listening, dumbfounded. Some people were whispering around her.

"To his younger days, Coi was very strong and valiant!"

"He babbled on the contrary, shouting louder, at each stroke of the stick, at each stroke of the stick burst into loud laughter, until the headman, grasping the upper part of his trousers, his hair falling on his face, dragged him away from the platform and disappeared.

"Silence! Silence! Let's listen to the Committee men!"

"They're going to fire again! Oh, what a day!" A volley again rang out over the crowd, but the headman, a plain-looking man formerly extorting village officials assembled for feasting and opium smoking and disputing pickings, where people were summoned to form a commando group or to colonial army from which they might never return, where peasants came to deliver rice, pay the poll-tax or failing that, to be beaten, tortured...

Most people in the courtyard felt greatly embarrassed. Chairman, what's that? Raise one's hand to elect? That's very strange!

Coi repeated: "All those who have no objection to chairman Hoi as its candidate to the chairman of the provisional liberation committee of our village. Those who agree with us, please raise your hands!"

Xoan could see the crimson-faced school-teacher standing behind Coi.

We now proceed to choose other members of the committee!"

And the first democratic election in Ganh village went on.

(1) A poor village girl employed as a servant by landlord Khanh, a deputy to the Provincial Assembly.

(2) A poor peasant, member of the village guerrilla, who was Xoan's sweetheart.

## A NATIONAL...

(Continued from page 3)

The Second National Congress of Letters and Arts held in 1957 dealt with the following subjects: culture harnessed to socialist revolution in the North, to the national democratic revolution in the South, and the struggle for national reunification. It drew clear-cut line between socialist and bourgeois ideologies and condemned revisionist tendencies in letters and arts.

It is to be recalled that the necessity of a peaceful solution in Laos has been pointed out by the Lao Patriotic Front in Prince Souphanouvong's message brought... Prince Souvanna Phouma by envoy Pratithieng Tham in Vientiane five months ago (March 20). On July 10, Prince Souvanna Phouma accepted with a positive proposal for holding at Khang Khay between the two princes' representatives. This has prompted Prince Souphanouvong to send Tiao Souk Vongsak to Vientiane with a message and full powers to discuss with Prince Souvanna Phouma practical matters related to the preparations for the meeting.

It belongs to the finest traditions of the age-old cultural heritage and continuity of the Lao nation. It is not enough. It enriches the national culture with a social content and new forms of expression.

In some way, it also means rupture. It breaks with feudalism, colonial basardization and bourgeois mentality.

It is not the preserve of the intelligentsia alone. All toilers have now access to this cultural wealth. Their attitude towards culture has changed too. Not content with the past, they are looking forward to a new culture, a culture which assimilates the best of the past, the best of the present, the best of the future.

If you agree, please raise your hands!"

"Raise our hand! How to do?"

Upboreas laughter again rippled as a woman asked the question.

"But just put it up, quite simple!"

"Those who are for school-teacher Hoi, please raise your hands like this!"

Amid loud laughter and cheers, hundreds of arms shot up from the crowd. Old folk with deep wrinkles and their eyes, men and women with sunburnt faces, giggling young people, all lifted their hands, to choose themselves from now on.

Xoan too raised her hand, she too had taken part in the election of the village committee.

"Very good. Now please put down your hands!"

More laughter among the crowd.

"All right, now we put them down!"

Clapping hands was still an unknown practice, but everybody felt that he ought to say something or laugh to share the general elation with everybody else.

And the villagers realized that as they had done today, they become a great force which changed everything irrevocably.

We now proceed to choose other members of the committee!"

And the first democratic election in Ganh village went on.

(1) A poor village girl employed as a servant by landlord Khanh, a deputy to the Provincial Assembly.

(2) A poor peasant, member of the village guerrilla, who was Xoan's sweetheart.

In these last decades, a new culture has been blossoming in fighting Viet Nam.

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In some way, it also means rupture. It breaks with feudalism, colonial basardization and bourgeois mentality.

It is not the preserve of the intelligentsia alone. All toilers have now access to this cultural wealth. Their attitude towards culture has changed too. Not content with the past, they are looking forward to a new culture, a culture which assimilates the best of the past, the best of the present, the best of the future.

Far from limiting itself to cliffland, that culture is receptive to all cultures whose richness it felicitously assimilates. Through the achievements obtained, it has shown its maturity and promising.

# Saigon Unable...

(Continued from page 1)

and released recently, disclosed that 4 of his comrades were still detained in Chi Hoa jail and that during their detention, all 5 were brutally tortured because they denied the false charges made against them by the police.

The movement of Saigon students has received a powerful backing from South Vietnamese students in Japan. On Aug. 8, the Association of Vietnamese Students in Japan made public a statement affirming their support. The same day, at a rally held in front of the US Embassy, South Vietnamese students handed a protest letter to Tran Thien Khiem then in Tokyo for secret talks with the reactionary Sato administration.

**T**HE struggle of war wounded and disabled is better living conditions gained in strength. On Aug. 8, in Nha Trang, an important military base 317 km northeast of Saigon, offices of the province chief were railed by 1,000 wounded, a number of them coming from the US Cam Ranh base some 100 km away.

In Quang Ngai, 122 km southeast of Da Nang, on Aug. 5, 2,000 wounded and wives and children of puppet soldiers killed in action staged a boisterous demonstration in front of the residence of the province chief. On Aug. 6, more than 500 wounded men, mostly outside the residence of the governor of Gia Lai province, next door to Saigon, the latter refusing to meet them, were exhorting the puppet army: "A man's belly open with a knife, and another war wounded

slashed his own arm, in protest.

On Aug. 13, in Bien Hoa, 21 km northeast of Saigon, puppet troops opened fire on a column of 600 war wounded moving towards Ho Nai in search of a site to build their lodging. The firing claimed 6 wounded, 3 of them serious.

Those carried them to Saigon and deposed them in front of Thieu's palace where a big demonstration was held on Aug. 14.

Similar actions were mounted in Hue in the first weeks of August, against the puppet authorities' failure to keep their promises to the war-wounded and disabled of their own armed forces.

**T**HREE days after the press became completely unabated. In the first days of this month, the puppet administration seized 12 issues of 8 periodicals. The press, however, kept attacking the US-puppet regime of war.

Dan Chau (Democracy) on Aug. 4 wrote, "A cease-fire and US troops pull-out are necessary for the establishment of peace in Viet Nam." Tin Mai (Confidential Reports) the same day published a poem glorifying peace and protesting war for which the Americans were responsible.

In its editorial on Aug. 7, Dan Chau (Democracy) wrote, "The leaders of the present regime can in no way break popular opposition with violence, threats or bribery. This regime cannot survive without foreign support..."

For its part, Dan Chau (People) proposed on Aug. 17 the setting up of "People's Committees of Action against Rigged Elections" in which state organs must submit to the hard core. The Aug. 20 issue of Dan Chau Mai (New De-

mocracy) was seized for having affirmed that "peace will be re-established when we cease being at the foreigners' beck and call."

**B**UDDHISTS' agitation was also kept up. In Da Lat, a monk immolated himself by fire on Aug. 15, to protest the puppet administration and the Americans: it was the 3rd self-immolation in 10 weeks.

Defying puppet authorities, on Aug. 16 in announcing the reply from the representative of the RSVN, Superior Thich Huynh Quang, Secretary General of the Institute for Propagation of Buddhist faith, acknowledged that the PRG really desired peace and had shown moderation and a spirit of union.

For its part, the "Committee for the Defence of the People's Right to Live," significantly, headed by a former first lady of the Saigon regime, demanded on Aug. 2 "an end to prostitution, the origin of which is the presence of US troops in South Viet Nam of foreign origin."

The Western press reported on Aug. 17 that 80,000 "displaced persons" crowded into a refugee camp in Cho Lon during a hunger strike and had shaved their heads to protest against the puppet neglect of their fate.

A significant indication of the strong popular feeling against the US-puppets just prior to the arrival of Western press in connection with the election campaign for the partial renewal of the puppet State: the slogans paraded by political tickets clearly directed against the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique and their masters: "Yankee go home," "We the people must resign!" or "Peace now!" As Swiss Prime Minister Oleg Palmer has rightly put it, failure of violence cannot be transformed into success by increased violence.

## 25 Years Ago

(Continued from page 1)

3) The anti-Japanese struggle for national salvation led by the Party has grown increasingly stronger and has been spreading all over South, Central and North Viet Nam. Guerrilla bases have been enlarged, the liberated zones and the Liberation Armed Forces established. Local self-government has been set up in six provinces of the highlands and in the North of Viet Nam. Over a million people now have been granted democratic rights and exempted from taxes and corvées.

4) The Japanese command in Indochina has been deeply split. Japanese troops' morale has been sinking, the Japanese Vietnamese traitors are panic-stricken.

5) The Allied Forces are about to enter our country and the French imperialists are attempting a comeback to Indochina.

6) The whole people are spoiling for general insurrection to wrest back independence.

### THE PARTY'S LINE

1) The golden opportunity for us to reconquer our independence is drawing near.

2) The situation has become a great emergency. Every deed should be guided by three principles:

a) Concentration: bend all our energies on the main tasks.

b) Unity: military and political unity, unity in action and in command.

c) Timing: act timely, not to miss any opportunity.

3) The timing of our effort is to regain total independence.

4) The present battle cries are:

- Down with aggression!

- Total independence!

- Power for the people!

\* \* \* Dates of the coup d'état staged by the Japanese to overthrow the French in Indochina.

## South Viet Nam

## MILITARY OPERATIONS

### SOUTH OF 17TH PARALLEL

In Coc Bai region, southwest of Quang Tri town, Battalions No 1 and No 4 of the puppet First Regiment took 300 casualties and 40 planes were downed (August 5 to 13).

East and south of Quang Tri provincial capital, a US company was wiped out together with one hundred men of a US motorized infantry company, some armored vehicles of a puppet squadron and 2 choppers (August 11 and 12).

PLAF guns shelled two CPs of puppet Regiments No 1 and No 2 and other positions along the enemy defence line from Dong Ha to Con Tien, causing one hundred enemy casualties and 100 aircraft (from the afternoon of August 16 to the morning of August 17).

Nam Hoa sub-sector, 8 km south of Hué city, was stormed: 150 enemy troops put out of action, a fuel dump and an ammunition depot burnt (night of August 5).

### SAIGON FRONT

In two ambushes laid by the PLAF on Road No 22 (Xa Mat region) and near Trai Bi (south of Xa Mat) 153 enemy soldiers and 46 military vehicles were knocked out (August 6 and 7).

In a PLAF attack in Binh Tuong province against many units of the US 11th Brigade, an infantry company, and an artillery company wiped out: 200 GI casualties, 7 cannons and mortars put out of action, 2 choppers downed (night of August 8).

### MERCON DELTA

Two enemy posts, about 30 km south of Rach Gia provincial capital, were overrun, enemy rescue parties intercepted, 200 puppet soldiers disabled including 2 "pacification" teams, 15 light combat launches sunk (August 10 and 11).

## THOSE UNFORGETTABLE DAYS

(Continued from page 4)

Government should also be the day when Viet Nam would officially declare independence and the formation of the Democratic Republic. Besides government lines and policies, an oath had to be taken before the slogan: President Ho and the Standing Committee immediately buckled down to the important task of wording the Declaration of Independence.

In a small, dark room of a house sprawling far inwards, in the old ancient Hanoi city, Uncle Ho was absorbed in his work, now writing, now typing.

The servants of the house did not know what the bright-eyed, chain-smoking old man in a faded blue jacket which was torn the lining unbuttoned, was working so hard at. Every time they asked him whether he needed anything, he would turn round smiling and exchanged a few words with them; and every time, he said he needed nothing.

They were quite unaware that they were witnessing an epoch-making event.

One morning, Uncle Ho and Comrade Nhan (8) sent for me. The draft Declaration of Independence had been completed. Uncle Ho read the draft aloud and asked everyone of us to give his opinion. As he later told us, those moments had been the most pleasant ones in his life.

Twenty years before, he had come to the Versailles Peace Conference to press for immediate measures to improve living conditions and enforce democratic rights in the colonies. But even the most modest demands had been rejected by the imperialists. He had realized that one could not expect the capitalists to do any good out of humanitarianism. He had learned that he could only rely on his own people's efforts and forces.

In those hours, on behalf of the entire people, he was

reaping the fruits of eighty years of struggle.

On that day, we saw his still emaciated face beaming with intense joy.

Recorded by HUU MAI  
(To be continued)

(1) 1945.

(2) Pham Van Dong's pseudonym.

(3) Hoang Van Huu, now Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee.

(4) Tran Dang Ninh, former Chief of the Department of Logistics of the People's Army.

(5) now member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party.

(6) now Deputy-Chief of Staff of the People's Army.

(7) A famed Orientalist.

(8) Truong Chinh's pseudonym.